

ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT AND PERSPECTIVES FOR THE *HUMAN SECURITY* CONCEPT IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Abstract. *The wide economic support and an attempt to guarantee safety, which the European governments are trying to provide for their citizens, are reasons why the European Union explores new directions of conducting common policies for which the most important is the human being and his needs. The European security policy and the new concept of human security could be one example of the EU's new behavior. Taking into consideration the previous attempts at developing security theories in Europe and other countries, it is possible to state that the modern human security doctrine in the EU could be followed by creating a special kind of European corps which would be a new tool for ensuring security where it would be necessary to provide it European Gendarmerie Forces (known as EGF or EUROGENDFOR). The aim of this article is to show the impact of the evolution of the modern security theories for creating a human security doctrine in the framework of the European Union. Moreover, genesis and activity of the EGF are presented and the author is trying to answer the question: could the EGF be a tool of human security in the EU?. Finally, a couple of proposals for the future development of the European security policy are mentioned.*

Key words: *European Union, human security, European security, European Gendarmerie Forces*

Introduction

It is a common belief that governments of the European Union (EU) member countries develop more social and humanistic policy towards their nations than the states in other parts of the world, such as United States, Japan, etc². The wide economic support and an attempt to guarantee safety, which the European governments are trying to provide for their citizens, are reasons why the European

Union explores new directions of conducting common policies for which the most important is the human being and his needs. The European security policy and the new concept of human security within it could be one example of the EU's new behavior. Taking into consideration the previous attempts at developing security theories in Europe and other countries, it is possible to state that the modern human security doctrine in the EU could be followed by creating a special kind of

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² See further: D. Milczarek, *Pozycja i rola Unii Europejskiej w stosunkach międzynarodowych. Wybrane aspekty teoretyczne*, Warszawa 2003, p. 153-168.

European corps which would be a new tool for ensuring security where it would be necessary to provide it European Gendarmerie Forces (as known as EGF or EUROGENDFOR). The aim of this article is to show the impact of the evolution of the modern security theories for creating a *human security* doctrine in the framework of the EU. Moreover, genesis and activity of the EGF are presented and the attempt to analyze if the EGF could be a tool of human security in the EU. Finally, a couple of proposals for the future development of the European security policy are mentioned in order to encourage readers to reflect on it.

1. Origin and evolution of the security thinking in Europe: from the Copenhagen School to the human security theory

Firstly, when the concept of *human security* is discussed it is necessary to remember previous attempts, from the Cold War era, to change the security concept. Peter J. Katzenstein, an American security scientist, briefly noticed that: "The end of the Cold War has put new national security issues beside the long-standing fear of a nuclear war between the two superpowers and their preparations for large-scale conventional wars: ethnic conflicts leading to civil wars that expose civilian populations to large-scale state violence; an increasing relevance of economic competitiveness and, relatedly, of the «spin-on» of civilian high technology for possible military use; increasing numbers of migrants and

refugees testing the political capacities of states; threats of environmental degradation affecting national well-being; and perceived increases in the relevance of issues of cultural identity in international politics, including human rights and religion"³. Moreover, the Cold War restricted significantly the development of the security branch of science and in that period the authors mainly focused on the arms race between the two most important opponents United States and the Soviet Union. Just a few of them were courageous enough to explore new approaches to security studies soft security studies, which were popular mainly in Europe.

The first sign of change in the thinking about security was a remarkable article published in the early 80s by Richard Ullman, entitled *Redefining Security*, in which the author "(...) made a general case for broadening the concept of security"⁴. Moreover, it was stated that threats to security were increasing, particularly non-military threats. These threats, argued Ullman, threaten the political freedom of governments and any single man, and could make him poorer as well⁵. Despite the fact that it was a very interesting idea, it seems that the time was too early for this kind of thesis and so Ullman`s article wasn't treated seriously by American and Russian scientists.

The next step towards a vital breakthrough in thinking about security was a publication by Jessica Matthews in a prestigious American magazine *Foreign Affairs*⁶. The author "(...) highlighted the need for states to give proper concern to the

³ P. J. Katzenstein, *Introduction: Alternative Perspectives on National Security* [in:] P. J. Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security*, <http://www.arts.cornell.edu/tmp.php/publications/culture%20national%20security.doc>, (23.11.2006).

⁴ P. J. Katzenstein, *Introduction...*, *op. cit.*

⁵ See: R. Ullman, *Redefining Security*, "International Security", vol. 8, no. 1, Summer 1983, p. 133.

⁶ Further see: J. Mathews, *Redefining Security*, „Foreign Affairs“, vol. 68, no. 2, 1989, p.162-177.

newly apparent threats posed by environmental problems such as ozone depletion and global warming”⁷.

In this moment, it is necessary to emphasize that the way of understanding security concept had changed definitely in the consequence of the collapse of the Cold War bipolar system. Traditional, narrow, concentrated only on military aspects, security definitions were followed by modern, broad approaches, proposed by famous theorists in International Relations such as Barry Buzan, Stephen Walt, Edward Kolodziej and others⁸. The previous, narrow security concept tended to focus only on military capabilities and the use and control of force by states⁹. The new approach to security treated it broadly, including such aspects as political, social, environmental, cultural, information, but also military factors. The most famous promoter of this attitude was an English theorist of International Relations, above-mentioned Barry Buzan, the founder of the so-called *Copenhagen School* of security.

“Barry Buzan trail-blazed this approach in the early 1990s, but it fully crystalised later in the decade, when he teamed up with Ole Waever and Jaap de

Wilde in producing the groundbreaking work *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*”¹⁰. This new direction was called for the first time as the *Copenhagen School* of security in 1994 by Bill McSweeney, one of the scientists who together with Buzan participated in *Security Research Group* in Copenhagen, Denmark. Thus, this complex security theory includes all works of the researchers who had joined the mentioned Group, which published very well-known books that are today fundamental for broad security studies¹¹. The most important lesson learned by the Group was that nowadays the targets of threats are both traditional, nation-states and others participants of International Relations. Secondly, the modern threats to security are both external and internal. These statements were proved by *Copenhagen School* researchers through the analysis of the conflicts in former Yugoslavia in 90s¹². Moreover, broad security conception is followed by the modern *human security* theory which is a consequence of Barry Buzan`s approach to the security matters.

The term *human security* became popular after being used in the *United Nations Development Program* (UNDP)

⁷ P. Hough, *Who's Securing Whom? The Need for International Relations to Embrace Human Security*, “Stair 1”, no. 2, 2005, p. 73.

⁸ Further see: S. M. Walt, *The Renaissance of Security Studies*, “International Studies Quarterly”, vol. 35, no. 2, June 1991, p. 211-239; E. A. Kolodziej, *Renaissance in Security Studies? Caveat Lector!*, “International Studies Quarterly”, vol. 36, no. 4, December 1992, p. 421-438; E. A. Kolodziej, *What Is Security and Security Studies? Lessons from the Cold War*, “Arms Control”, vol. 13, no. 1, April 1992, p. 1-31; B. Buzan, *People, States, and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*, London 1983; O. Waever et al., *Identity, Migration, and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, New York 1993; M. T. Klare, D. C. Thomas (ed.), *World Security: Challenges for a New Century*, New York 1994, and others.

⁹ See: S. Walt, *The Renaissance of Security Studies...*, op. cit., p. 212.

¹⁰ P. Hough, *Who's Securing Whom?...*, op. cit., p. 74; for Barry Buzan work further see: B. Buzan, O. Waever, J. de Wilde, *Security. A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder 1998.

¹¹ See: O. Wćver, P. Lemaitre, E. Tromer (ed.), *European Polyphony: Perspectives beyond East West Confrontation*, London 1989; B. Buzan, M. Kelstrup, P. Lemaitre, E. Tomer, O. Wćver, *The European Security Order Recast: Scenarios for the Post-Cold War Era*, London New York 1990; B. Buzan, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, Boulder 1991; O. Wćver, B. Buzan, M. Kelstrup, P. Lemaitre et al., *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, London 1993. About history of the Copenhagen School see: W. Kostecki, *Europe after the Cold War. The security complex theory*, Warsaw 1996, p. 15-21.

¹² About Yugoslavian conflicts see further: M. Waldenberg, *Rozbicie Jugosławii. Jugosławiańskie lustro międzynarodowej polityki*, Warszawa 2005; W. Konarski, A. Koseski, *Balkany. Etnokulturowe podłoże konfliktów*, Pułtusk 2006.

Report in 1994¹³, however it is believed that the idea for this sort of security appeared previously. Sabina Alkire noticed the fact that “as far back as June 1945, the U.S. Secretary of State reported this to his government on the results of the San Francisco Conference: «The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells *freedom from fear*. The second is the economic and social front where victory means *freedom from want*. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace. (...) No Provisions that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and their jobs»”¹⁴. Overall, the above-mentioned UNDP Report had only developed the idea from 1945.

The authors of the Report highlighted the fact that “the concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as a global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation-states than to people. (...) Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives. For many of them, security symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards”¹⁵. Consequently, it

was distinguished in two trends within the modern approach to security in the Report: “(...) First, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, repression [it means *freedom from want*]. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns in daily life (...) [*freedom from fear*]”¹⁶. Bearing in mind these two aspects of human security, economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political dimensions of security were highlighted¹⁷. Furthermore, four essential characteristics for human security were noted: *universalism* of that conception, the components of it are interdependent, it is easier to ensure it through *early prevention* and the human security concept is *human-centred*¹⁸. The last value, human-centred aspect, gave a reason why some of the scientists used to call human security theory *human-centric security*¹⁹.

As far as *human security* is concerned, the theory was developed in further documents by the United Nations Development Program. For instance, the 1999 UNDP *Human Development Report* affected mainly globalization, but also human security by “giving it [means United Nations System] greater coherence to respond to broader needs of human security”²⁰. Consequently, in 2000 former United Nations Organization (UN) Secretary General Kofi Annan in his *Millenium Report* stated that humankind should be the most important point of

¹³ United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 1994*, New York 1994.

¹⁴ S. Alkire, *A Conceptual Framework for Human Security*, „CRISE Working Paper”, no. 2, 2003, s. 13.

¹⁵ United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 1994...*, op. cit., p. 22.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

¹⁷ See: *ibidem*, p. 24 25.

¹⁸ See: *ibidem*, p. 22 23.

¹⁹ See further: P. Kerr, *The evolving dialectic between state-centric and human-centric security*, “Australian National University Department of International Relations Working Paper”, no. 2, Canberra 2003.

²⁰ United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 1999. Globalization with a Human Face*, <http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1999/en/>, p. 111, (15.11.2006).

interests for all the countries and international organizations, particularly for the UN, which would have to guarantee security for every man²¹. In addition, the UN emphasized the fact that human security could not be equated with *human development*. "Human development is a broader concept defined (...) as a process of widening the range of people's choices. Human security means that people can exercise these choices safely and freely (...)"²².

One of the first who proposed the idea of extended security study, including human security concept, was Professor Emma Rothschild from Harvard University, US. In her precious article from 1995 entitled *What is Security?*, Rothschild explores the origin of the human security idea as the process of widening *national security* conception. "The ubiquitous idea, in the new principles of the 1990s, is of security in an «extended» sense. The extension takes four main forms. In the first, the concept of security is extended from the security of nations to the security of groups and individuals: it is extended downwards from nations to individuals. In the second, it is extended from the security of nations to the security of the international system, or of a supranational physical environment: it is extended upwards, from the nation to the biosphere. The extension, in both cases, is in the sorts of entities whose security is to be ensured. In the third operation, the concept of security is extended horizontally, or to the sorts of security that are in question. Different entities (such as individuals, nations, and «systems») cannot be expected to be secure or insecure in the same way; the

concept of security is extended, therefore, from military to political, economic, social, environmental, or «human» security. In a fourth operation, the political responsibility for ensuring security (or for invigilating all these «concepts of security») is itself extended: it is diffused in all directions from national states, including upwards to international institutions, downwards to regional or local government, and sideways to nongovernmental organizations, to public opinion and the press, and to the abstract forces of nature or of the market"²³. To sum up, the human security concept being a consequence of the development and evolution of the Barry Buzan approach was proved by Rothschild. According to her, human security is a very important part of the national security as well. Moreover, bearing in mind all above-mentioned theories, it is possible to conclude that post-Cold War conception of security was called broad, wide, complex or extended, but the main idea was always the same after the collapse of the bipolar system, security should be understood as covering all the aspects of our daily life. Thus, the human security theory could emerge and became popular in the 90s, particularly in Western European countries (EU), Canada, Japan and the Third-World.

2. Towards the *human security doctrine of the European Union*

Professor Michael T. Klare, a famous American scientist, at the beginning of the 90s predicted that in the next couple of years the international security environment will be dominated by interstate conflicts.

²¹ K. A. Annan, "We the People". *The Role of United Nations in the 21st Century. Millenium Report of the Secretary General of the United Nations, United Nations 2000*, <http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/index.html>, (12.01.2007).

²² *United Nations Development Program, Human Development Report 1994...*, op. cit., p. 23. For further studies on human development see: "Man & Development", *Center for Research in Rural and Industrial Development, Chandigarh India*, vol. 26, no. 2, June 2004.

“Preventing, controlling, and resolving these conflicts, and impeding the spread of advanced weaponry will, therefore, constitute the principal world security tasks of the 1990s and beyond”²⁴ warned Klare. European Union had to face these new challenges by participating actively in many peacekeeping operations abroad (mainly in former Yugoslavia) or distributing humanitarian aid (activity of Humanitarian Aid Department of the European Commission ECHO). Through this practice, human security concept could become a point of interest for the EU. Moreover, through all mentioned efforts the European Union was able to create successfully its new foreign policy (the EU’s *soft power* policy)²⁵.

For the last few years the human security concept has changed rapidly. Firstly, the physical safety of the person was focused on, after that all military and non-military threats for the nations and for the individual were affected. Moreover, the states which had developed human security in their foreign policy divided in two parts consequently. The first one entails with *freedom from fear* (supported mainly by Canada and Norway) and the second one with *freedom from want* approach (Japan and the Third World). “Japan (...) stresses the importance of development issues and «human dignity» and has been critical of Canada's approach to human security,

which it sees as associated with humanitarian intervention”²⁶.

Academics from different countries have done research on that conception, being in favor of the Canadian (so-called narrow approach) or Japanese (broad approach) school of human security. Gary King and Christopher Murray develop the Japanese *freedom from want* point of view: “We define an individual's human security as his or her expectation of years of life without experiencing the state of generalized poverty. Population human security is then an aggregation of individual's human security”²⁷. However, Caroline Thomas writes that *freedom from want* entails not only basic material needs, but also human dignity and democracy²⁸, these are the values which are supported by European Union. For Canadian researcher Fen Olser Hampson “the concept of «security» can be defined as the absence of threat to core human values, including the most basic human value, the physical safety of the individual”²⁹. Thus, protection of the vital values such as the personal safety of the individual human is treated by Canadian professor of political sciences Robert Bedeski as primarily, a narrow definition of human security³⁰.

On the other hand, recently some academics called for a return to a comprehensive security concept, which includes such important questions as “(...)

²⁴ M. T. Klare, *The new challenges to global security*, “Current History”, vol. 573, no. 92, April 1993, p. 155.

²⁵ About *soft power* conception see further: J. S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: the means to success in world politics*, New York 2004; L. Chouliaraki (ed.), *The soft power of war*, Philadelphia 2007.

²⁶ A. Mack, *The Concept of Human Security* [in:] M. Brzoska, P. J. Croll, *Promoting Security: But How and For Whom?* Contributions to BICC’s Ten-years Anniversary Conference, Bonn International Center for Conversion, 10.2004, p. 47.

²⁷ G. King, Ch. J. L. Murray, *Rethinking Human Security*, “Political Sciences Quarterly”, vol. 116, no. 4, 2001/2002, p. 592.

²⁸ See: C. Thomas, *Global governance, development and human security the challenge of poverty and inequality*, London 2000, p. XI.

²⁹ F. O. Hampson, J. Daudelin, J. B. Hay, T. Martin, H. Reid, *Madness in the Multitude: Human Security and World Disorder*, Ottawa 2002, p. 4.

³⁰ See: R. Bedeski, *Preface to a Theory of Human Security*, <http://web.uvic.ca/polisci/bedeski/humansecurity.pdf>, (12.11.2006), p. 3.

economy, ecology, demography, communication and the development of civilization and technology³¹. Moreover, "(...) both the Commission on Global Governance and UNDP (...) have called for a broadening of the traditional concentration on state security to embrace the dimensions of human security and the security of the planet"³².

To conclude, it is the human who is affected by all the above-mentioned theories as the object of the modern security concern. Barry Buzan called this process *macro-securitisation*: „By macro-securitisation I mean a securitisation aimed at, and up to a point succeeding, in framing security issues, agendas and relationships

on a system-wide basis. Macro-securitisations are based on universalist constructions of threats and/or referent objects"³³. Moreover, wide research on human security provoked security experts to generate a new branch in security studies study on human security³⁴. Table 1. provides a brief comparison of mentioned approaches to security study, including traditional, military thinking security, the *Copenhagen school* by Barry Buzan and the most modern one human security. Finally, taking into consideration all the above-mentioned ideas, it was the European Union which had to seek its way among these both, Japanese and Canadian, attitudes of modern understanding human security.

**Table 1. A Matrix of Security Studies by Roland Paris.
What is the Source of the Security Threat?**

	Military	Military, Non-military or Both
States	National security (conventional realist approach to security studies)	Redefined security (f.ex. environmental and economic [cooperative or comprehensive] security)
Security for Whom? Societies, groups and individuals	Intrastate security (f.ex., civil war, ethnic Conflict and democide)	<i>Human security</i> (f.ex., environmental and economic threats to the survival of societies, groups and individuals)

Source: R. Paris, *Human Security...*, op. cit., p. 98.

³¹ A. D. Rotfeld, *Introducion. The International System in Transition*, "SIPRI Yearbook", Oxford 1995, p. 1 - 10.

³² T. Debiel, *The Need for an Integrated Security Concept* [in:] M. Brzoska, P. J. Croll, *Promoting Security...*, op. cit., p. 52.

³³ B. Buzan, *The „War on Terrorism“ as the new „macro-securitisation“?*, *Conference International Relations Theory, Unipolarity and September 11th: Five Years On*, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo 3 4.02.2006, p. 1.

³⁴ See further: K. Bajpai, *Human Security: Concept and Measurement*, „Kroc Institute Occasional Paper“, vol. 19, no. 1, 08.2000, p. 2; R. Paris, *Human Security. Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?*, „International Security“, vol. 26, no. 2, Fall 2001, p. 88.

As far as human security in the European Union is concerned, it is believed that a wide variety of European *soft power* factors, such as democracy, promotion of the human rights and cultural, social, economic values, etc.³⁵ were reasons why the EU started to be interested in human security in both, Canadian and Japanese, approaches. Dan Henk, in the papers of prestigious American military magazine *Parameters* notices the fact that through being interested in human security “the Europeans are looking at the world and their role in it in a significantly new way”³⁶. Furthermore, escalation of the intra and interstate conflicts, especially in the Balkans, and the need for development of its foreign and security policy finally encouraged the EU to be engaged in international peacekeeping operations. Previously, this European activity was restricted only to participation in international civilian police missions, but since 2004 the EU possesses European Gendarmerie Forces, a new tool to provide order and security in the post-conflict environment. However, P. H. Liotta and Taylor Owen highlighted the fact that the European Union had tried to implement some elements of human security earlier. “Collectively, documents and policies regarding the development of a European Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) emphasize the necessity for Europe to have the ability for independent action. Especially with the 2001 «Helsinki Declaration» and the call for a 60,000-member European Rapid Reaction Force, Europe has recognized a need for independence from powerful allies (such as the United States) and from powerful

alliances (such as NATO). Moreover, the evolution of the European defense «responsibility» has focused on the so-called Petersberg tasks, which concentrate on humanitarian and crisis response capabilities that nonetheless fall short of a fullscale intervention force with the ability to sustain combat over prolonged time. As drawn from Article 17.2 of the Treaty of the European Union, and originally stated in the (now defunct) Western European Union Petersberg Declaration of June 1992, these responsibilities entail «humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks, and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking»³⁷. Despite this fact, only afterwards European Security Strategy in 2003 and *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe: The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities* in 2004 finally proved that the EU “(...) has declared inherent security values in both promoting the rights of nation-states and in protecting the rights of individual citizens”³⁸.

On the other hand, some isolated European countries, being members of the European Union, were previously interested in the human security idea. Therefore, Austria, Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway and, after accession to the EU, also Slovenia decided to join the Canadian initiative from 90s - *The Human Security Network*. “The Human Security Network (HSN) is a group of like-minded countries from all regions of the world that, at the level of Foreign Ministers, maintains dialogue on questions pertaining to human security. (...) The Network has a unique inter-regional and multiple agenda perspective with strong links to civil society and academia. The

³⁵ See: J. S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power. Jak osiągnąć sukces w polityce światowej*, Warszawa 2007, p. 112-117.

³⁶ D. Henk, *Human Security: Relevance and Implications*, “Parameters”, Summer 2005, p. 96.

³⁷ P. H. Liotta and Taylor Owen, *Sense and Symbolism: Europe Takes On Human Security*, “Parameters”, Autumn 2006, p. 86-87.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 87.

Network emerged from the landmines campaign and was formally launched at a Ministerial meeting in Norway in 1999 (...)”³⁹. The development of the human security idea in above-mentioned countries led the European Community to take an official stance and prepare official documents concerning human security.

In the first document, „*A Secure Europe in a Better World. European Security Strategy*”, the term *human security* has not appeared yet. Here there are mentioned wider human security necessities, concentrated on human needs. “In contrast to the massive visible threat in the Cold War, none of the new threats is purely military, nor can any be tackled by purely military means. Each requires a mixture of instruments. (...) Regional conflicts need political solutions, but military assets and effective policing may be needed in the post conflict phase. Economic instruments serve reconstruction, and civilian crisis management helps restore civil government. The European Union is particularly well equipped to respond to such multi-faceted situations”⁴⁰. The clear guideline to implementation of human security to EU *acquis communautaire* is given by the latter document, *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe*.

The mentioned record was written by the *Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities* and presented to the European Union High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana on 15th September 2004⁴¹. “The report labels

the mounting conflicts in various parts of the world as a source of new threats to the security of EU citizens”⁴². The aim of the report is to establish a *human security doctrine* for European Union. For that reason, the concept of human security is understood by the EU as “(...) freedom for individuals from basic insecurities caused by gross human rights violations”⁴³. Furthermore, the EU human security doctrine should include three core elements: a set of seven rules for participating in operations abroad; establishing European Human Security Response Forces (HSRF); the new legal framework for human security activity of EU.

As far as the first element is concerned, there are seven principles for peace intervention: “(...) the primacy of human rights, clear political authority, multilateralism, a bottom-up approach, regional focus, the use of legal instruments, and the appropriate use of force. The report puts particular emphasis on the bottom-up approach: on communication, consultation, dialogue and partnership with the local population in order to improve early warning, intelligence gathering, mobilisation of local support, implementation and sustainability”⁴⁴. It is necessary to note that these rules relate to rules adopted earlier by other international organizations, such as the United Nations or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Table 2. presents a very interesting set, based on principles of

³⁹ *The Human Security Network (HSN)*, <http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org/network-e.php>, (20.05.2007).

⁴⁰ „*A Secure Europe in a Better World*”. *European Security Strategy*, 12.12.2003, p. 5 12.

⁴¹ See: *Europe needs a human security doctrine - and a new civil military force*, *The London School of Economics and Political Sciences*, http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/pressAndInformationOffice/newsAndEvents/archives/2004/Europe_needs_HumanSecurity_Doctrine.htm, (12.05.2007).

⁴² S. Ogata, *Human Security: Theory and Practice*, “*Stair 1*”, no. 2, 2005, p. 16.

⁴³ *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe: The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities*, 15.09.2004, Barcelona, p. 5.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

all above-mentioned institutions, which was drawn up by the Centre for Strategic Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand and concerns criteria for humanitarian intervention.

policymakers in Western Europe⁴⁵.

The second point of the human security doctrine for the EU Human Security Response Forces, according to the Barcelona Group should consist of "(...)

Table 2 Criteria for Humanitarian Intervention.

1. The threat or occurrence of grave and large -scale violations of human rights.
2. Clear and objective evidence of such a threat or occurrence.
3. The government of the state is unwilling or unable to take remedial action.
4. There is clear urgency.
5. The use of force should be the last resort.
6. The purpose is clearly explained to publics and the international community.
7. The purpose is limited to stopping the human rights abuses.
8. The action is supported by those for whom it is intended.
9. There is support of regional states.
10. There should be a high probability of success.
11. There should be a mapped -out transition to post-conflict peace building.
12. The use of force should be proportionate to achieving the se goals.
13. International law on the conduct of war should be followed during the action.

Source: G. Wilson-Roberts (ed.), *Human intervention: definitions and criteria*, „CSS Strategic Briefing Papers”, vol. 3, no. 1, 06.2000, p. 2.

To conclude, the lesson learned is that the humanitarian intervention could be used only in the case of severely abused people, but force may be used as a last resort. Consequently, the criteria meets only the formations which do not use or minimally use force, such as the European Gendarmerie Force, which will be discussed later. Therefore, it seems important that the HSRF "(...) would have a heavy civilian specialist component skilled in conflict prevention and social reconstruction. Even its standing military component would be heavily imbued with a human security ethic. While it still is too early to anticipate the appearance of such a European force, the idea itself resonates powerfully among intellectuals and

15,000 men and women, of whom at least one third would be civilian (police, human rights monitors, development and humanitarian specialists, administrators, etc.). The Force would be drawn from dedicated troops and civilian capabilities already made available by member states as well as a proposed «Human Security Volunteer Service»⁴⁶.

The last, but not least element of the doctrine should be established by the EU in order "(...) to govern both the decision to intervene and operations on the ground. This would build on the domestic law of host states, the domestic law of sending states, international criminal law, international human rights law and international humanitarian law"⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ D. Henk, *Human Security...*, op. cit., p. 95.

⁴⁶ A *Human Security Doctrine for Europe...*, op. cit., p. 5.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

3. Is the European Gendarmerie Force a *human security* tool of European Union?

As far as the EU's *Human Security Doctrine* is concerned, it is possible to state that the European Union is seriously taking into consideration the creation of a special corps devoted to ensure basic *human security*. Previously the EU participated in international civilian police operations abroad and some of its member countries participated in *Association of the European and Mediterranean Police Forces and Gendarmeries with Military Status FIEP*⁴⁸. Finally, the European Union decided to establish the European Gendarmerie Force (EGF/EUROGENDFOR). What is more, because of the EGF tasks and responsibilities it is possible to state that this force would be used as a tool to provide human security.

Primarily, the European Union participated in civil crisis management response operations and distributed humanitarian aid which encouraged that organization to find its place in the international security environment⁴⁹. The military peacekeeping activities of countries

such as United States or organizations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) provoked the EU to develop its capabilities in civil aspects of crisis management operations by providing humanitarian aid, training local police forces and supporting democratic election. For these reasons, the organization needed to develop corps which would be able to deal with these tasks. The previous successful activities of the Mediterranean constabulary forces (so-called *gendarmerie-type forces or carabinieri/gendarmerie like forces*), which means police forces, but with military status, such as the *French Gendarmerie Nationale*, the Italian *Arma dei Carabinieri*, the Spanish *Guardia Civil*, the Portuguese *Guarda Nacional Republicana* and the Romanian *Jandarmerie* led the European Union to the conclusion that the organization could face the above-mentioned challenges by establishing these kinds of forces. Table 3. presents a set of modern Mediterranean constabulary forces which exist in EU countries, supported by some numerical data.

Table 3. Comparison of the number of soldiers in traditional armies and gendarmes in the selected European countries between 1980 and 2000.

Country	Armed Forces (AF)/ Constabulary forces	1980	1990	2000
Austria ⁵⁰	AF/	50 300	42 500	35 500
	Gendarmerie	11 000	11 794	15 751
France	AF/	494 730	461 250	294 430
	Gendarmerie Nationale	78 000	91 800	94 950

⁴⁸ About FIEP see further: F. Dien, *Vers une Europe des gendarmeries: la FIE*, „*Défense Nationale*”, no. 5, 1996; K. P. Marczuk, *Mediterranean constabulary forces: theory, practice, solution?*, „*Romanian Military Thinking*”, 1/2007; K. P. Marczuk, *Position of Gendarmeries in Internal Security Systems: The Mediterranean Countries and EU. Paper for World International Studies Conference, Bilgi University, Istanbul, Turkey 23 - 25.08.2005*, <http://www.bbn.gov.pl/index.php?lin=5&last=167&idtext=357>, (29.05.2007).

⁴⁹ See: P. Cornish, G. Edwards, *Beyond the EU/NATO dichotomy: the beginnings of a European strategic culture*, „*International Affairs*”, vol. 77, no. 3, 2001, p. 587-603.

⁵⁰ In Austria gendarmerie had existed till 2005, when it was united with civilian police.

Spain	AF/ Guardia Civil	342 000 64 000	274 500 63 000	166 050 75 000
Holland	AF/ Royal Dutch Guard	114 980 3 900	102 600 4 700	51 940 5 200
Portugal	AF/ Guarda Nacional Republicana	59 540 13 000	68 000 19 000	44 650 25 300
Italy	AF/ Arma dei Carabinieri	366 000 84 000	389 600 111 400	250 600 110 000

Source: D. Lutterbeck, *Blurring the Dividing Line: The Convergence of Internal and External Security in Western Europe*, "European Security", vol. 14, no. 2, 06.2005, p. 246.

Previously, some EU member countries tried to co-operate in this field in the framework of the FIEP. Then, FIEP was used as a basement of the soon-to-be established EGF. Moreover, the contingents of the new European corps were planned to be sent to the areas of conflict. Stabilization of the post-conflict environment by common European gendarmerie contingents was perceived by the EU as a chance to be more valuable to the US which are undeniably leaders in peacekeeping⁵¹.

The first step in establishing the future European Gendarmerie Force was to found the *European Rapid Operation Forces* EUROFOR (15th of May 1995), which consisted of gendarmeries from France, Spain, Holland and Portugal. Later, the summit of the Council of the EU in Nice in 2000 and the meeting of the ministers of defense from France, Spain, Italy, Portugal⁵² and Holland 17th of September 2004 in Noordwijk (Holland) led to signing a common *Declaration of Intent* and, consequently, establishing the European Gendarmerie Force⁵³.

Furthermore, the use of the EGF units during operations out of the EU is highlighted in the 2004 *Declaration of Intent*. The scope of EUROGENDFOR is explained as follows: "In order to contribute to the development of the European Security and Defence Policy and the creation of an area of freedom, security and justice, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain, all of whom possess police forces with a military status capable of carrying out, in accordance with the Nice European Council conclusions, police missions through substitution and/or strengthening of local police, propose the following: to provide Europe with a full capability in order to conduct all police missions in crisis management operations within the framework of the Petersberg Declaration, with particular regard to substitution missions; to offer a multinational operational structure to those States which intend to join EU operations; to participate in initiatives of international organizations in the area of crisis management. To that end, the above-mentioned countries have

⁵¹ See: D. T. Armitage Jr., A. M. Moisan, *Constabulary Forces and Postconflict Transition: The Euro-Atlantic Dimension*, „Strategic Forum”, nr 218, 11.2005, p. 1 2; D. Armitage, *The European Gendarmerie Forces: An American Perspective*, „Eurofuture”, Summer 2005.

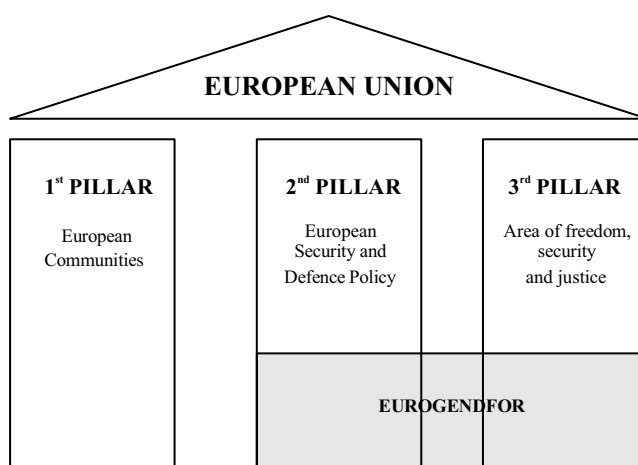
⁵² A. Paris, *La Gendarmerie Europee*, „RID”, no. 4, 2005, p. 60.

⁵³ See: *Gendarmes de la paz*, „Revista Española de Defensa”, nr 10, 2004; *EGF Declaration of Intent*, Noordwijk 17.09.2004, <http://www.eurogendfor.org/DECLARATION%20OF%20INTENT.htm>, (15.01.2007).

decided to create a gendarmerie force, called EUROGENDFOR (EGF) which will be operational, pre-organized, robust and rapidly deployable, in order to perform all police tasks⁵⁴. Picture 1. presents the place of the EGF in the law system of the EU, according to the *Declaration of Intent*. The most important conclusion is that the EGF is not only a military formation (is not subordinated only to 2nd pillar), but also fulfills civilian police tasks (from 3rd pillar).

co-operation with local or international police units), the military disengagement phase (the EGF supports civilian authorities)⁵⁵. All these tasks are linked with co-operation with and for civilians and involve no use of force. What is more, the European Gendarmerie has a capability to send to the place of conflict 800 gendarmes in 30 days. Furthermore, the Western European Union (WEU) is strongly interested in activity of the

Picture 1. The place of the EGF in the law system of the EU.



Source: 1. Scope. EGF Declaration of Intent., op. cit.

The *Declaration* noticed the fact that the EGF could cover all phases of operations abroad as well. Thus, it entails three phases: the initial phase (units of the EGF perform the police tasks), the transitional phase (the EGF is able to facilitate co-ordination and

EUROGENDFOR. In 2006 the institution decided that EGF should give a report to the Assembly of WEU about its activity every year⁵⁶. Moreover, in the WEU document no. A/1928. *The role of the European Gendarmerie Force* it is stated that: "Among

⁵⁴ S1. Scope. EGF Declaration of Intent..., op. Cit.

⁵⁵ See: 2. Missions. EGF Declaration of Intent..., op. cit.

⁵⁶ Assembly of Western European Union, Document A/1928. *The role of the European Gendarmerie Force. Report submitted on behalf of the Defence Committee by Baroness Taylor of Bolton, Rapporteur (United Kingdom, Socialist Group) and Ignacio Cosidó Gutiérrez, co-Rapporteur (Spain, Federated Group)*, 21.06.2006, http://www.assembly-weu.org/en/documents/sessions_ordinaires/rpt/2006/1928.php?PHPSESSID=f3137d60...#P218_34390, (15.10.2006).

the capabilities required for substitution assignments are, *inter alia*: protection of people and property and riot control: the risk of situations getting out of control with a resulting need for supporting military forces must be taken on board; public surveillance, the capacity to enter and understand the territory, the gathering of information; expertise in the area of crime-fighting and criminal investigation, particularly with a view to combating terrorism and organized crime and dealing with war crimes. This capability covers the detection of offences, the tracing of offenders and their transfer to the appropriate judicial authorities. In this context, strong synergy needs to be developed between the actions undertaken to support the rule of law and those taken by the police mission, in order to avoid a legal vacuum⁵⁷.

Having a wide spectrum of capabilities, the EGF can realize elements of human security policy of the EU. Moreover, it is necessary to mark the fact that during the process of creating the EGF the *European Security Strategy* was being prepared (2003) as well. What is more, in the mentioned document the authors said that security is the first condition to development the one which is linked directly with human security aims⁵⁸. Therefore, according to the *Strategy*, the EUROGENDFOR is the EU's tool to provide order and security during peacekeeping operations.

4. Conclusion

After the collapse of the Cold War system the security researchers started to define security widely, including its non-military aspects (*Copenhagen school*). Extending the security concept led to

establishing the theory of human security and its two dimensions: Canadian (*freedom from fear*) and Japanese (*freedom from want*).

The first one, the Canadian approach, is connected with the forces such as police forces with military status gendarmeries, because they use little or no force (especially during peacekeeping operations). Therefore, the constabulary forces could become a tool for providing human security, like the European Gendarmerie, because the European Union is trying to reinforce its soft power policy through developing human security doctrine. Moreover, the unique capabilities of the Mediterranean constabulary and, consequently, the EGF could be very attractive partner for the US army which conduct a policy of foreign interventions and are still seeking a solution to this dilemma: how to stabilize effectively a post-conflict environment?... Perhaps it will be the EGF, as a practice tool, and the human security theory, as a theoretical support, which would allow the US to deal successfully with foreign campaigns. What is interesting, Americans highlighted the historical background: "the eschatological advantage is that Europeans conceive the fight between good and evil in the world, as well as their political «mission» and approach to it, in ways that substantially diverge from those of the United States. Due to its own more recent and brutal history, the Old World has drawn its lessons. Thus, Europe is beyond automatic reliance on brute force; it shies away from direct confrontation in favor the collegial; it seeks the mantle of legitimacy conferred by multilateral versus bilateral solutions; it hands out generous amounts of united

⁵⁷ §.66, *ibidem*.

⁵⁸ See: „A Secure Europe in a Better World”. *European Security Strategy...*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

foreign aid; and it is *always* careful to stress the need for sustainable growth and a fair division of wealth among nations as the keys to international stability and respect for human rights⁵⁹.

Moreover, the future of EUROGENDFOR is difficult to predict. Will this initiative develop swiftly? What countries will join it? At the moment, Romanian, Polish and Turkish gendarmeries are applying for membership in the organization, but it is obvious that neither Poland nor Turkey will be accepted, as Poland does not possess a constabulary (Polish Military Police is applying) and Turkey is not a member of the EU. In the case of Romania it is possible to say that *Jandarmerie* could soon become a member of the EGF - the country is a EU member and its formation is a police force with military status. What is more, the Romanian gendarmerie for the last few years has

prepared itself to accession by participating in twinning projects held by the Spanish *Guardia Civil* and the French *Gendarmerie Nationale*.

Last, but not least, the human security doctrine perception by the new EU member countries would affect an EU policy. "So the Union, still carrying its historical baggage, had to find a role in an international system whose character was as yet unknown"⁶⁰. Romanian author Viorica Zorița Pop conducted a profound study on the former communist countries and the impact of human security for them⁶¹. According to her, new member countries, which in past were communist, today are familiar with human security and support this idea. The best example could be Slovenia, who actually is a member of the *Human Security Network*. The future will show whether other EU countries will join this initiative.

⁵⁹ B. Tigner, *The Fruit of EU Homeland Security: Military Policy* [in:] J. L. Clarke (ed.), *Armies in Homeland Security. American and European Perspectives*, Washington D.C 2006, p. 232.

⁶⁰ A. Deighton, *Foreign Policy and the European Union's Security Strategy* [in:] A. Deighton, V. Mauer (ed.), *Securing Europe? Implementing the European Security Strategy*, Zürich 2006, p. 26.

⁶¹ See further: V. Z. Pop, *Human Security in transition societies*, București 2003.

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